

Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation 1528-1552

REV. PROFESSOR JAMES K. CAMERON, M.A.,
B.D., Ph.D.

At the close of his graphic and detailed account of the trial and death in 1528 of Patrick Hamilton, the first martyr of the Reformation in Scotland, John Knox in his *History* wrote these words: "within schort space many begane to call in dowbt that which befoir thei held for a certane veritie, in so much that the Universitie of Sanctandrose, and Sanct Leonardis Colledge principallie, by the labouris of Maister Gawin Logy, and the novises of the Abbay, by the Suppriour, begane to smell somewhat of the veritie and to espy the vanitie of the receaved superstitioun".¹ Hamilton's example, Knox maintained, had emboldened those who were critical of the Church, and encouraged the embracing of the new doctrines. The situation is summed up in a statement attributed to one of the household of the Archbishop who had condemned Hamilton to the stake. "My Lord, yf ye burne any mo, except ye follow my counsall, ye will utterlye destroy your selves. Yf ye will burne thame, lett thame be brunt in how sellarris; for the reik of Maister Patrik Hammyltoun hes infected as many as it blew upoun."²

To what extent did Lutheranism contribute to the Reformation in Scotland? Was it as significant an element as these quotations suggest? Did the increasing criticism of the Church, to which Knox referred, arise out of a questioning of accepted beliefs and an espousal of new ones? An examination of the evidence he supplied hardly justifies the claim that the "reik of Maister Patrik" had infected as many as it blew upon. There is no need to resort to Lutheran teaching to explain the advocacy of reform by the friars William Arith and Alexander Seton whom Knox cited in support of his contention. They go no further along that road than did John Major, the renowned orthodox Catholic theologian of Paris and St Andrews, in his *History of Greater Britain*. There is, perhaps, more to the martyrdom of Henry Forret, another whom Knox lists, than the accusation that he had a New Testament in English, but the evidence is not preserved. Knox did not tell us how many "diverse learned men and utheris that leved in fear of persecutioun"³ had fled to England as a safe haven after Henry VIII's breach with Rome, but there is elsewhere evidence that the number was

¹ *The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1846), i, 36.

² *Ibid.*, 42.

³ *Ibid.*, 54.

considerable but they did not all remain loyal to the new faith. Particular attention should be paid to Alexander Alan, Alesius as he is known later,⁴ a pupil of Major, one of the Augustinian canons of St Andrews, whose academic ability had singled him out from among his fellows as the one best fitted to enter into controversy with Hamilton in the hope of convincing him of error. In the end, Alan was himself won over and consequently imprisoned. He would probably have suffered the same fate as did Patrick had he not escaped with the aid of friends in St Andrews and Dundee to the continent, there to become the close friend of Luther's colleague, Melanchthon. His contributions, however, were made in Germany and in England. Among those who fled in subsequent years to the continent are to be numbered several students of St Andrews University where, it must be concluded, they had long been drawn at least to desire further knowledge of the new form of the faith. Two students from St Leonard's College matriculated at Wittenberg in 1544,⁵ and in the following year William Ramsay and James Balfour immediately on graduating M.A. went directly from St Andrews to Wittenberg.⁶ Ramsay re-appears immediately after 1560 as the Second Master in St Salvator's College. Balfour who had returned earlier, was carried off with Knox in 1547 as a galley slave, but did not persist in his protestantism.⁷ There would, therefore, appear to be some substance in the claim that in St Leonard's College Lutheran sympathies were clandestinely nurtured. Nevertheless it is difficult to find convincing evidence that after 1528, as Knox asserted, "the knowledge of God did wonderouslie increase within this realme".⁸

Knox is, however, correct in maintaining that criticism of the clergy of all ranks increased in strength and magnitude. As on the continent by far the fiercest attacks came from a satyrists. Among the main objectives of the writings of Sir David Lindsay, one of the foremost literary figures of sixteenth-century Scotland, were the exposing of abuse and corruption within the Church and the demanding of reform. Undoubtedly, he drew encouragement from first-hand knowledge of the European scene largely dominated by Erasmus. He may even have read some of Luther's writings, although their importation into the country had been repeatedly

⁴ *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, eds. G. Krause and G. Müller (Berlin, 1978), ii, 231ff.

⁵ Walter Spalding and John Fyff, J. M. Anderson, *Early Records of the University of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1926), 125, 126, 127, 226, 229; A. I. Dunlop, *Acta Facultatis Artium* (Edinburgh, 1964), 365, 368, 340, 346, ix; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, ed. C. E. Foerstemann (Leipzig, 1841), i, 213.

⁶ Anderson *Early Records*, 147; Dunlop, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, 369, 399, 424ff; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, i, 216.

⁷ W. C. Dickinson, *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1949), ii, Index, 362 *sub* Balfour, Sir James of Pittendreich.

⁸ *The Works of John Knox*, i, 61.

prohibited by act of parliament. That he was deeply influenced by the reading of scripture, almost certainly in English, is abundantly clear.

His earliest work, *The Dreame*, which was probably written towards the close of 1528 and in which he adopted the well-known literary device of recalling a vision of a journey through hell, purgatory and heaven, has from the theological point of view several interesting features. His "hell" is in every way traditional, containing, as did Dante's "Inferno", popes and prelates, monks and friars, suffering for their sensual sins, their failure to preach, their abuse of church revenues and their neglect of the poor. The source of their misery, he attributed as did Dante and Wycliffe, to the Emperor Constantine, who had endowed the Church with property. It is, however, in his scanty treatment of purgatory that we note a change from Dante and others. Like the early Luther, he did not deny its existence, but he has really no time for it. He will accept what the Church teaches about it, but there is a sceptical ring in his words:

Sic thyng to be gret Clerkis dois conclude;
Quhowbeit, my hope standis most in Christis blude.⁹

Twenty-seven stanzas describe hell, only two are given over to purgatory. Had he been influenced by Luther's attack on indulgences and the doctrine of purgatory? The emphasis on Christ's suffering as the basis of hope is Lutheran, although not exclusively so. There is also a Lutheran echo in the answer given to the poet when at the end of his *Dreame* he seeks to remain in heaven,

. . . my freind, thow mon returne againe,
And for thy Synnis, be pennance, suffer paine,
And thole the dede, with creuell panis sore,
Or thow be ding to ryng with hym in glore.¹⁰

These lines although capable of orthodox construction call to mind the last two of the *Ninety-Five Theses*. "Christians should be exhorted to seek earnestly to follow Christ their Head, through penalties, deaths and hells. And let them thus be more confident of entering heaven through many tribulations rather than through a false assurance of peace."¹¹

Dated a little later than *The Dreame*, probably about 1529-30, *The Complaynt of Sir David Lindsay* has in it strongly anti-clerical elements which are familiar to readers of his later and better known works, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis* and *Ane Dialogue Betuix Experience and ane Courteour*. The author calls upon the king to

⁹ *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555*, ed. D. Hamer (Edinburgh, 1931), i, 14, lines 349-350.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 lines 606-609.

¹¹ E. G. Rupp and B. Drewery, *Martin Luther* (London, 1970), 25.

have the prelates and priests conform their lives to their vocation, to preach

And trewly vse the Sacramentis

Efter Christis Institutonis,¹²

to get rid of vain traditions, which delude the sheep for whom Christ died, and superstitious practices such as pilgrimages and praying to images which (being against the Lord's commandment) is idolatry. That the king should aim to end such practices is defended from the Old Testament and not, it is interesting to note, as with Luther, on the basis of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. A moral reformation of the spiritual estate in accordance with scripture is strongly advocated. The editor of Lindsay's works sees here the first appearance of Lindsay as a reformer.¹³ The preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments according to the Christ's institution are by 1530 for Lutherans the distinctive notes or marks of the Church.

The condemnation of ecclesiastical practices and, in particular, the treatment by the Church of those about to die is the aim of the brilliant satire, *The Testament, and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo*, written by Lindsay in truly humanist fashion. At the heart of Luther's attack was his opposition to the practices of confessors and the promises they gave that were made to sound as if the confessor could bring the soul safe to heaven, promises which elicited from the dying the purchase of an indulgence and a generous monetary contribution. In this poem Lindsay ridicules the efforts by three crows (representing a canon regular, a monk, and a friar) which purport to come to the aid of the parrot and promise to bring the dying bird "quyke to heuin" and make her "saif" while their true objective is to secure her property.¹⁴ Lindsay's criticism of the Church's practices here and in other works with its appeal for a better educated clergy is essentially a moral one, is not distinctively Lutheran, but many of his contemporaries regarded that as an essential element in Luther's attack on indulgences. There was for Luther, however, a theological element which many who agreed with his moral condemnation did not share. There is no indication that Lindsay's attack at this stage went appreciably beyond that of the humanist who advocated moral reformation.

A brief comment may be relevant at this point on one other work by Lindsay, *Kittie's Confession*, which probably is to be dated about 1543 or 1544. This short satire against auricular confession has much in common with Luther's teaching on the same subject. We note first a reference to heresy which is regarded as synonymous with possessing "Inglis Bukis"¹⁵ by which is

¹² Hamer, *Lindsay*, i, 51 lines 416-417.

¹³ Hamer, *Lindsay*, iv, p. xvii.

¹⁴ Hamer, *Lindsay*, i, 76 line 670, 77 line 700.

¹⁵ Hamer, *Lindsay*, i, 124 line 21.

probably meant the New Testament in English. Part of the little poem is on the one hand, a complaint that the confessor in his ministry showed to his parishioner nothing of God's Word, or of the effect it should have on the penitent; that he knew nothing of Christ's blood or of Christ's promise that he saves all who believe; that the confessor did not teach her to trust in the comfort of the Holy Spirit, or to thank Christ who had saved her from sin and hell, or to love her neighbour as herself. The penance that he set out is held up in ridicule. The whole sacramental practice in fact is condemned, as nothing but "mennis law", as a means to have men serve "the Paip, the Antechriste".¹⁶ On the other hand, part of the poem gives evangelical advice:

To the greit God Omnipotent
Confes thy Syn, and sore repent,
And traist in Christ, as wrytis Paule,
Quhilk sched his blude to saif thy Saule:
For nane can the absolue bot he,
Nor tak away thy syn frome the.¹⁷

And if the penitent sinner is in need of spiritual counsel, the advice is to go to a true preacher. There is no need to confess all one's sins in order to gain spiritual help; only the vice that is the cause of the anxiety needs to be rehearsed. The preacher will help, he will instruct in the truth, and he will show how the sacraments will strengthen faith. Confession as practised at that time is not obligatory; but the procedure outlined as an alternative is claimed to be the practice of the early church. There is much that is Lutheran here. But this outspoken passage is a rare one in Lindsay's early writings.

To discover or to gauge how widespread such criticism of the Church was upheld or how deeply it was rooted in Lutheran theology is not easy. It is, however, significant that the acts of parliament of 1525 condemning the importing of Lutheran books were repeated ten years later and that other acts against "heretics" who kept or concealed Luther's writings, acts demanding the infliction of heavy penalties, were added to the statute book. By the 1540s there are in Lindsay's works and in the acts of parliament sufficient grounds for maintaining that Lutheranism was beginning to be a force to be reckoned with in the realm.

Of the particular nature of that Lutheranism some evidence can be derived from two short books that have survived to this day and also from the *Gude and Godly Ballatis*. John Gau's *Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, is a translation into the Scots vernacular of a Lutheran text containing several sections that can be traced

¹⁶ Hamer, *Lindsay*, i, 126f lines 101 and 108.

¹⁷ Hamer, *Lindsay*, i, 127 lines 109.

back to Luther's own writings.¹⁸ It comprises an exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Angelical Salutation to the Virgin. *Sola Scriptura* as the authority is assumed throughout and, further, it is everywhere accepted that the intelligent reader with the scriptures in the vernacular can discover for himself that what is taught has that authority. This emphasis upon scripture in the hands of the ordinary reader is one of the most significant of the Lutheran tenets and was dominant in Lindsay's *Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour*, and was to become a prominent feature of the Scottish Reformed Church. It should also be pointed out that apart from one or two widely scattered passages there is little that is polemical, and that there is no attempt at all to engage in controversy. The intention is to engender an atmosphere of personal evangelical piety. Almost certainly this was also a feature of early Scottish protestantism. The emphasis was on the cultivation in groups of evangelical life and practice. The fact that this was being accomplished underlies some of the parliamentary acts of 1535.

In expounding the Ten Commandments the sinner who desires the mercy and forgiveness of God, obtains them as soon as he forsakes his sin with his whole heart and asks forgiveness. The repetition of prayers, fasting, and good works are to no avail. It is necessary for salvation to keep the commandments, and to this end, faith is required, but the commandments of men, such as those enjoying pilgrimages to Rome to receive the pope's pardon, are not necessary. Obedience to those set in authority is required by God, but only in things lawful. It is therefore right to disobey rulers who seek to suppress preaching. Those who preach God's Word are to be obeyed.

In the exposition of the Creed faith is defined as putting all one's trust in God; the heart's utter trust in God, and not in the pope, cardinals or any mortal. The purpose of the Creed, is to preserve the unity of the faith, but those who can read should read the Bible for it is the basis of all the doctrine that needs to be known. Yet not everything is in the Creed. For example, there is nothing about the sacrament of the altar, "the bodi and blwid of our lord Jesus Christ . . . onder the forme of breid and vine".¹⁹ The Creed must be seen to be grounded in the Bible which itself has its source in the Holy Spirit.

Gau's translation set out the Lutheran doctrine of the Church as "the congregacione of christine men and vemen".²⁰ Its existence is on earth and it is to be found where the holy gospel is preached and received, and outside it there is no faith and no salvation. It is

¹⁸ *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine by John Gau*, ed. A. F. Mitchell (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1888).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

stressed that one does not believe in the Church, one believes that there is one holy Church, that it is the one common Christian brotherhood in faith, the unity of which is demonstrated in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.²¹ Further, it is to this Christian congregation and not to Peter that the power of the keys, that is to say the gospel, has been given. All in the Church have the power with the Word and the Spirit to loose sins. Absolution does not depend on any position or rank within the Church. Whoever is to minister this power of binding and loosing should be chosen by the Christian congregation.²² There is much here that has its basis in Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of believers.²³

John Johnson's *An Comfortable Exhortation of our mooste Holy Christen Faith and her Frutes written unto the Christen brethern in Scotland after the pure [poor] word of God*, was probably printed at Malmö about 1533.²⁴ Its author was almost certainly Scottish and an eyewitness of the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, but nothing else is known of him apart from his authorship of this brief work in which he described himself as an "humile professor of holy divinitie".

Set against the background of the Scottish situation of the 1530s the book is written to encourage those undergoing persecution, and enduring difficult times. Like the *Richt Vay*, it consists of biblical quotations assembled so as to form a work of spiritual counsel. It is likewise almost totally devoid of any polemical element and further it has nothing to say concerning the doctrines of the Church, the ministry or the sacraments. It encourages passive rather than active resistance. It is nevertheless radically opposed to the official practice of religion.

The *Comfortable Exhortation* opens with an exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith in terms essentially Luther's. It utters strong warnings against the abandonment of faith and the temptation to give away under pressure. Even the later sections which deal with the subjects of hope and despair have the same objective. The mercy of God must not be called in doubt; rather should God be loved not for what one may hope thereby to attain but for what He is in himself. The longest section, entitled "On Patience", deals with what is seen as an essential quality for evil and dangerous times. Christians must be prepared to suffer, to

²¹ *Ibid.*, 58.

²² *Ibid.*, 62.

²³ See further B. Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New* (Chicago, 1982), 90ff.

²⁴ J. K. Cameron, "John Johnson's *An Comfortable Exhortation of our mooste Holy Christen Faith and her Frutes*: an early example of Scots Lutheran Piety" in D. Baker (ed.) *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 2 (Oxford, 1979), 133-147.

receive gladly whatever comes as coming from God's hand. God "bringeth no man to heuven excepte he send hym to hell first".²⁵ Evil must be resisted by means of suffering rather than violence. We see here to what extent the author had embraced Luther's "theology of the Cross". He cites the example of Patrick Hamilton, and assures his readers that this act of persecution will not help "the worldly bishops and their disciples".²⁶ Tribulation should be regarded by Christians as a blessing from God, vouchsafed to none save his special friends. Persecutors are but the scourges of God; they are firmly within his control. This doctrine his readers will learn from the scriptures. Those who despise God's Word, who fear even the slightest persecution or who give way, are, nevertheless, gently encouraged to repent and recover their faith.

There is more to this little book than has been mentioned but has enough been said to convey something of its flavour. If Johnstone's work is to be regarded as a product of Scottish Lutheranism it shows just how deeply the scriptures had been studied and how fully acquainted the author was with Tyndale's New Testament from which the vast majority of the quotations come. The future of the gospel is seen to lie with the humble believer who places his complete confidence in God, accepts what comes as being from the hand of God, and daily nourishes his faith upon the scriptures. This is not a form of protestantism readily associated with the later Scottish Reformation, yet these ideas form part of the origins of that development.

With the *Gude and Godly Ballatis* we return to St Andrews, where the Wedderburn writers, James, John and Robert, who are associated with their compilation, were students.²⁷ This collection of psalm paraphrases and ballads became one of the most powerful channels of Lutheran influence in Scotland. Some of the pieces are little more than translations of well-known medieval and Lutheran hymns. Those which are distinctly Lutheran are drawn from a variety of sources. Throughout the emphasis is firmly upon the scriptures as the sole authority. But more important are the theological emphases of the Wedderburns' work. A word of warning is necessary at this juncture; we should not expect here or in any hymn book to find a complete or fully expounded theology.

Throughout the emphasis is firmly upon the scriptures as the sole authority, on the need to place them in the hands of those who can read, and on the importance of preaching the Word. It is true that by the 1540s these demands were common among all

²⁵ *An Comfortable Exhortation*, fol. Dv.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. Eii.

²⁷ A. F. Mitchell, *The Wedderburns and their Work* (Edinburgh, 1867); A. F. Mitchell, *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs; commonly known as "The Gude and Godlie Ballatis"* (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1897).

reformers, yet it could be argued that the demand for preaching, expressed in the statutes of the Provincial Councils,²⁸ and later in *Hamilton's Catechism*²⁹ (as indeed among the Canons of Trent), owes something to the Lutheran emphasis. Preaching became all important because it constituted the means by which the power of the keys given to the true preachers of God's Word was exercised. There is, also, the emphasis on faith as trust, and on man's inability to save himself, ideas that are found especially among hymns dealing with the nativity. There is no reference to the merits of the saints, or even to their example.³⁰ The evangelical, spiritual message shared by so much piety forms the dominant theme in the earlier part of the work. Throughout the selection of metrical psalms emphasis is placed upon the incarnation and the events in the life of our Lord, his teaching, his sufferings, death and resurrection. The treatment of these themes is positive, and at times there is explicit criticism of ideas such as merit. For the most part, however, any criticism of existing practice is indirect. In the psalm paraphrases special attention is given to personal faith, trust in God and prayer for heavenly aid. The themes that emerge concern man's plight as a sinner, God's love and Christ's sacrifice. In the work of John Johnsonsone referred to earlier the emphasis on patience under suffering and persecution was noted. Now once more that theme appears:

In hour of deid, grant vs thy strenth
Glaiddie to thole thair crueltie,
And that we may with the at lenth
Ressaif thy Joy Eternallie.³¹

Only in the latter parts of the book as it now exists does the tone begin to change, becoming more polemical, but as always happens this section contains the verses that are most well known. The ballad, "The Paip that Pagane full of pryde", which is found there is not characteristic of the work as a whole and breathes a different air.³² Elsewhere there are references to the persecution of those who possess copies of the scriptures in English; and strong complaints about friars, monks and pardoners, indulgences and dispensations, and belief in purgatory. Yet such criticisms are more often than not accompanied by appeals to the clergy: "First mend zour lyfe, syne leirne to preiche".³³ Even that pithy song,

²⁸ D. Patrick, *Statues of the Scottish Church* (Edinburgh, 1907), 98f., 101ff., 124ff., 172f.

²⁹ See below, footnote 35.

³⁰ See for example; Mitchell, *A Compendious Book*, xlviff., 54ff.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 142.

³² *Ibid.*, 204ff.

³³ *Ibid.*, 182.

God send euerie Preist ane wyfe
And everie Nunne ane man
That thay mycht liue that haly lyfe
As first the Kirk began.³⁴

is not brutally offensive.

These Lutheran works tell us practically all we know about early Lutheran protestant piety in Scotland of which only some elements remained in later years. It was essentially biblical and Christo-centric, indeed it was Jesus centred, it emphasised preaching, it seemed to minimise the sacraments, and it appeared to be closer to the position of Luther with regard to absolution than to the later reformers. This early protestant piety sought the reform of clerical abuses, especially celibacy, yet it did not call for the abolition of the clergy, despite its emphasis upon the sole mediatorship of Christ. It rejected all forms of the religious life. In political matters it showed no hostility to the state; rather it prayed for those in government, even those whose rule was oppressive. When it did consider the papacy (and that was not very often) it did become hostile. For the most part, however, its religion was not expressed in ecclesiological terms; nothing was said directly concerning the priesthood of all believers or ecclesiastical organisation.

Finally reference should be made to one other important matter, the Lutheran contribution to Catholic Reform in Scotland in the decade or so prior to 1560. My distinguished predecessor in St Andrews, Professor A. F. Mitchell, drew attention to the possible connections between *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism* and the *Enchiridion Christianae Institutionis* of Grooper, the *Catechismus Catholicus* of Bishop Nausea, Suffragan of Mainz and the *Institutes* of Michael von Heding.³⁵ The subject still awaits further enquiry, but that Mitchell was correct in setting the *Catechism* against the background of Catholic reform in Germany during the late 1530s and 1540s, in certain aspects of which some agreement between Lutheranism and Catholicism was being sought, is beyond dispute. Three particular emphases should be distinguished. Firstly, there is the emphasis upon scripture. The *Catechism* suggests that the more difficult passages are to be interpreted by reference to those where the meaning is clear. This may be supplemented by the help offered by the early Fathers, and by the decrees and definitions approved by General Councils. We note in passing an emphasis which was very much that of the early Luther and also of Major, on the doctrine of conciliar supremacy. It is true that we do not find in the *Catechism* the doctrine of *sola scriptura*, but we do find repeated references to the necessity for

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 188.

³⁵ *The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton*, Preface by A. F. Mitchell (Edinburgh, 1882), ixff; cf. T. G. Law, *The Catechism of John Hamilton* (Oxford, 1884), xxxff.

regular preaching of the Word, an emphasis which, as has been said earlier, must owe something to the continental background both Lutheran and Catholic.

Secondly, concerning the matter of justification by faith, which exercised theologians at Trent so greatly during the years 1546-1547, Law, the editor of the *Catechism*, wrote in 1884, that what it contains on this subject falls "little, if at all, short of actual heresy."³⁶ The most important passage occurs in the exposition of the first commandment. In expounding Habakkuk 2, "Justus meus ex fide vivet" with also a reference to Romans 1, "My righteous man by faith shall live" the following is found, "That is to say, the man or woman quhilk is justifieth or maid ryghteous in my syght throw a leiffand faith, and therin is perseverand the same man is he that sal leve the lyfe eternal". The passage continues "God almychty rewardis and sall reward all thame that puttis thair hail hoip and confidence in his mercy and glori".³⁷ Later in the exposition of the Creed the *Catechism* defines faith in part, as "to commit ourself hailely to God, to put our hail traist and confidence in his help, defence, gudness and gracious provisioun . . . and with obedience commit all to the gracious will of God. . . . This is the special faith of ane trew christin man quhilk standis in the general faith afore rehersit and in sure confidence and hoip of Goddis mercy. . . . This is the faith that justifeis a christian man, according to Sanct Paule sais to the Romans: we being jusifyit be faith hais peace in our conscience with God. . . . Quhair this faith is nocht present gud werkis can nocht help to salvatioun. Quhair this faith (quhilk is nevir without gud workis) is present, all thingis commis to our weil".³⁸ Repeatedly, we find an emphasis upon belief in God as trusting in him, and even the following words appear at one point: "gif thow with ane leivand faith put all thi confidence and traist in God, he will be to the a luffand father".³⁹ With reference to the Last Judgement similar words are used: "I trow that apon that day he sall deliver me and al that traistis in him be trew leiffand faith (quhilk that day sal be declarid be the werkis and rewardit eftir as the werkis beris witnis) fra the dede, trubil, sorow and perpetual paynis".⁴⁰

The third point concerns the *Catechism's* definition of the Church as "the congregation and company of all faithful men and women".⁴¹ Elsewhere we read "I trow fermely that thair is bot ane haly kirk, that is to say ane haly congregatiun of christin men and women ouir all the warld, quhilk hais ryght faith, quhilk hais

³⁶ Law, *Catechism*, xxxiii.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 127f.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

ressavit ane haly spireit, and is gadderit the same, gydit and keipit by him and daily increasis be the word of God, and the sevin Sacraments.”⁴² What is important here, as indeed elsewhere, is the total absence of any reference to the hierarchy. We note the presence of two particularly Lutheran emphases: the Church is defined as the congregation of believers (the definition which led ultimately to the gathered church of the radical reformers) and secondly it is presented in terms of the correct administration of Word and sacraments, an idea characteristic of both the formalism and legalism of the Roman Church and of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Christendom.

What then, can be said of the Lutheran contribution to the development of the Reformation in Scotland? The task of assessing the impact of ideas is fraught with difficulties. Nevertheless, from the selection of the source material which has been briefly examined, some of the particular Lutheran emphases that were affecting Scotland immediately after the death of Patrick Hamilton, and which were to continue as significant elements in the Scottish Reformation can be detected. The moral criticism of the Church and the dissatisfaction with the condition of the spiritual estate at all levels was undoubtedly intensified by the new Lutheran emphasis upon the scriptures in the vernacular. This emphasis was repeated in the *Scots Confession* and the *Book of Discipline* published in 1560. The cultivation of personal piety, nurtured in family circles, for which John Johnstone’s little tract provided admirable instruction and encouragement, as well as the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, and which expressed itself in passive resistance and in the enduring of suffering under affliction, owed much to Luther’s theology, especially his theology of the Cross. It was circles such as these, particularly in Angus, that provided the basis for Wishart’s work, and from which future leaders were to arise as Erskine of Dun, Henry Balnaves, the Wisharts of Pitarrow and the Melvilles. Finally, there can be little doubt, given that Knox may have attributed too much to Gavin Logie and John Winram, that Lutheran ideas influenced the academic study of theology at the highest levels. The central Lutheran doctrines of justification by faith and the Church as the community of believers are clearly reflected in Hamilton’s *Catechism*. The fact that the Reformation in St Andrews and in parts of the east of Scotland was accomplished with such comparative ease and with the active support of the most distinguished leaders among the clergy must, at least in part, be accounted for by the appeal to *sola fide*, *sola gratia*, and *sola scriptura*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 171.